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Syllabus No. VI

Modern Mexican History

By HERBERT I. PRIESTLEY, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Mexican History and Librarian of the Bancroft Library, University of California

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December, 1920

The Institute of International Education

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PREFACE

Each section of the syllabus is introduced by a study outline, in which the principal features of the subject of the section are indicated. The study outline is aimed at presentation of truth rather than of opinion, and is intended as a guide for reading and study. The lists of references which follow each outline are full enough to permit students to obtain materials whatever may be the resources of the library to which they have access. It is not necessary that the student should use a profusion of the materials indicated. The suggestion is offered that each of the sub-topics in each outline be chosen by two or more students for study some time in advance of meetings, and that reports, oral or written, be made upon the results obtained. Titles in the reading lists which are considered of most value are marked with a star. The lists contain materials on all sides of the problems of Mexico, hence it will be possible, with a little care, to arrange interesting debates for each section. Most of the titles listed contain materials valuable for sections other than those for which they are listed.

HERBERT I. PRIESTLEY

SECTION I

THE TERRITORY OF MEXICO AND THE PEOPLE

1

Extent of Mexico

Mexico colonial and contemporary; the northern boundary under Spain; Treaty of 1819; Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo; Gadsden Purchase; southern boundary in modern times; conflicts with Central American states.

Physical features

The Isthmus of Tehuantepec; plateaus of Yucatan, Oaxaca, Puebla, and Anáhuac; low hot coastal plains; eastern and western Sierras. Lower California. The great *barrancas* or natural gorges of the north: Cobre, Batopilas, San Carlos.

Hydrography

Rios Grande, Colorado, Conchos, Salado, Lerma, Mexcala, Pánuco, Coatzacoalcos, Zuchiate, etc. Closed basins of Mapimi and Anáhuac; non-navigable rivers; areas of irrigation, *cuencas*; the Bajío. Lakes Tezcoco, Xochimilco, Chalco, Zumpango, Xaltocan, San Cristóbal, Chapala, Pátzcuaro. Climatic zones vertical rather than horizontal: *tierra caliente*, hot lands; *tierra templada*, temperate regions; *tierra fria*, cold altitudes.

2

Natural agricultural resources

The native products: sisal, tobacco, corn, beans, chile, indigo, vanilla, cocoa, cochineal, chicle, coffee, bananas, rubber. Naturalized products: wheat, barley, cotton, sugar, etc. Grazing, in colonial times; present status. Industries dependent on grazing.

Natural mineral resources

Precious metals; location, depth, area. Mining in colonial times; relation to modern mining; early bonanzas, followed by modern low grade workings; rank of Mexico as producer of silver. Deposits of copper, iron, coal; other metals; petroleum. Interest of Spaniards in these; of the Mexican government; legislation on mining. Modern exploitation. Foreign capital.

3

Influence of geographical conditions

Distribution of crop areas; irrigation and rainfall; character of the soil in various parts; aridity; dry farming; limited variety of food crops; non-food crops, pulque and mezcal; crop failures, famines. Social and economic influence of agricultural conditions.

4

The Mexican Indians

Affinity with others of North America. The Uto-Aztec family: Shoshoneans, Aztecs, Sonora Indians, Pimas, Comanches, Tarahumaras, Huichols; Zapotecs, Mixtecs, Tarascos, Huastecs. The Maya-Quiche family. The Aztec Confederacy at the time of the Spanish Conquest: its culture, religion, business, science, war, land system, social system, government; effect of the Conquest on the native groups.

5

Present social conditions in Mexico

The Indian the base of the social pyramid; abjection of the natives; illiteracy; disintegration of the old native groups in the populous areas; relations with the half-breed group; linguistic diversities; proportion who speak Spanish; the "pelado," or indigent peon; modern movement toward mestizo supremacy; effect of industry on Indian labor; on his character; radicalism among the lower classes. The European and American population, at the apex of the pyramid; the nations represented; their relations with Mexicans. Anti-foreign sentiment in legislation; in politics; in wars. Religion among the people; religion and the government. Protestant missions, their effect, their reception. Protestant education and the modern revolution. The army and the government. Education under colonial control; under the Republic; modern organization of education.

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SECTION II

THE SPANISH COLONIAL RÉGIME, 1519–1810

1

The colonial policy of Spain

Discovery followed by immediate occupation; great movement in 16th century; nearly all of modern Mexico then covered; adventuresome, turbulent spirit of Spaniards; pioneer society; retrograde character of 17th century as to expansion; border activities of frontiersmen; foreign rivalry begun; 18th century shows fiercer conflicts between Spanish, French, and English; colonial reforms of late 18th century; new policy of liberal regulations, adhering to the mercantile theory. Conquests rewarded by huge land grants and exploitation of Indians on *encomiendas*, with duty of Christianizing them. Exclusion of foreigners from residence and trade; fleets and galleons of the commercial service, their purpose, their enemies, smuggling, breakdown; severe taxation, monopolies of trade and manufacture; special privileges, not system; all industry injured; foreigners, French and English, acquire control of the commercial machinery.

2

The government of New Spain

The king in Spain, absolute ruler, "fountain of law and justice"; Council of the Indies; Casa de Contratación; minister of the Indies, after 1720; the viceroys as "alter ego" of the king; *audiencias* or supreme courts; the *audiencia* of Mexico; of Guadalajara; governors or military commanders of provinces; the municipalities, weak state under Charles I, emasculation

under Charles III, effect of the crushing of municipalities on the movement for independence; privileges of the military, of the clergy; of the merchants, of the miners, of the agriculturists; public order; minute employments of the viceroys; the *alcaldes mayores* and *corregidores*. Vassals must learn to obey and be silent.

3

The position of the Church

To Christianize the Indians the policy of the government; this gave the Church great advantage; conquest began when power of Church was growing; Philip II as Spaniard and Catholic; work of Regular Orders, first to arrive; their reluctance to surrender territory to the Secular Church; conflicts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; quarrels between Spanish and creole clergy over preference in office; the mission system developed an as improvement over the *encomienda* for exploitation of the natives; missions develop religious, vocational, educational and protective character; their use as a frontier defence; the Church policy of land monopolization the cause of frequent disturbance in colonial times, and of revolution in recent years; economic and civil character of Church influence; social and intellectual prestige of clericals; their reluctance to surrender civil privilege.

4

Lack of constitutional guarantees

Absolutism of kings a cause of discontent, but not of separatism, until late 18th century; venality of courts; delays of justice; malfeasance in office; all create distrust. Purchase of offices gave special privileges and made possible special abuses. Rights in property not absolute; prescriptive right of king to all lands a constant menace to tenure of lands. Special privileges to upper strata of society was against development of character among the lower groups; alleged inferiority of American-born Spaniards, their practical exclusion from preference in offices of Church and State. The dominance of Spaniards in commerce, mining, and office, creating a feeling of discontent which become active with the occurrence of the Napoleonic disturbance of Europe.

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[NOTE. For Section II the general works on Mexico mentioned in Section I, under the names Bancroft, Fortier and Ficklin, the Ecyclopaedia Britannica, the Guide Books, Hale, Trowbridge, Alamán, Baril, Chevalier, Domenech, León, Pereyra, Pérez Verdía, and Riva Palacio, are of value. Only a few titles are repeated in these lists].

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SECTION III

THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE, 1810–21

1

The reign of Charles IV of Spain

Reversal of policies of his father; efforts to check French revolutionary propaganda; war on the French Convention, 1792; war with England, 1797; machinations of Godoy, Prince of the Peace, fear of Napoleon; program against him; his invasion of Spain, its pretext; abdication of Charles and of Ferdinand; the imprisonment of Spanish rulers at Bayonne; crowning of Joseph Bonaparte; rise of the juntas; "petite guerre" against the French. The Junta Central de Seville.

2

The repercussion in Mexico

General loyalty of New Spain to the Bourbons; attitude of viceroy; *audiencia* against *ayuntamiento*; Iturrigaray deposed; Garibay; Lizana; the Valladolid revolt. Changed attitude of the Spaniards.

3

The revolt under Hidalgo

The Conspiracy of Querétaro; its discovery; Grito de Dolores; battles of the early revolution; the march on Mexico City; battle of Monte de las Cruces; failure to defend Guadalajara; flight northward; capture, trial, and execution of Hidalgo and compatriots. His revolt as an expression of class hatred; its scant program, seeking dispossession of the Spaniards and elevation of the lowest level of the people.

4

The epoch of Morelos

New character of the revolution, for political separation; failure of the Liberal movement in Spain to meet the aspirations of the radicals in America; the Constitution of 1812 for the Spanish Empire; Constitution of Apatzingán; its nullity, its historical value. Capture and execution of Morelos; decline of the revolution under the policy of the viceroy Apodaca. Restoration of Ferdinand in Spain. Return of absolutism.

5

The revival of radicalism in Spain

The revolution of 1820; menace to the Church; changed attitude of the conservatives of New Spain as a result; they become revolutionaries. Am-

bitions of A. Iturbide; the Plan of Iguala; its reception; the last of the viceroys, Odonojú; Treaty of Córdoba; establishment of the Mexican Regency; the Constituent Congress; the coup d'état of San Hipólito; ephemeral empire of Iturbide; the return to republican ideals.

6

The military anarchy

The period from 1828 to 1836, a tangle of private and class ambitions; establishment of a centralized republic with privileged classes, military and clerical, in the ascendency. Constitution of 1836; its failure to provide a government; the Bases Orgánicas of 1843, creating a "Constitutional Despotism." From this period until 1857 there ensued a struggle for domination by the Liberal Party, which was near to triumph in the War of the Reform, 1857-61.

7

Relations between Mexico and the United States

Spanish suspicion and fear of aggression the heritage of the Mexicans; attitude of the United States toward independence of Spanish America; scant participation in the movement by individuals; final recognition; the Monroe Doctrine; treaties of amity and commerce; boundary treaty; the border; the Texas migrations; the Texas Revolution; the War with the United States; its causes, its prosecution, the results, on the Mexican mind, on Mexican territory; justification of the war from the American standpoint. Sentiment in Mexico favoring absorption by the United States at the end of the war.

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SECTION IV

THE WAR OF THE REFORM AND THE FRENCH INTERVENTION, 1857–67

1

Santa Anna in Mexican politics

The presidencies of Herrera and Arista; need of avoiding trouble with the monarchists; peaceful transfer of the power to Arista; resignation of Arista; return of Santa Anna at instance of Alamán; he is made dictator; dissolution of the legislatures, and of Congress; army increased; quasi-royal court; dictatorship made perpetual; persecution of political opponents. The revolt of Ignacio Comonfort; accession of Juan Alvarez, and pronouncement of *Plan de Ayutla;* flight of Santa Anna.

2

The short presidency of Alvarez and that of Comonfort

Conservatives, Moderates, and Liberals; drafting a new constitution; the Ley Juárez of November 22, 1855, depriving clergy of *fueros* or legal

exemptions; effect on the people; on politics; program of creoles (Liberals) developed in the Ley Lerdo, June 25, 1856, or Law of Disamortization, depriving Church of lands, for compensation; the Ley Iglesias, and others, depriving clergy of civil functions. Adoption of Constitution of 1857, under Comonfort; its radical character, separation of Church and State; restored representative, republican, popular, and federal forms; failed to remove viceroyal spirit of government; its theoretical gift of power over the executive to Congress; futility of this in Mexico; it is a reason for much political revolution. Conservatives oppose Constitution; Church and Pope declaim against it; the War of the Reform, 1857-61, to establish it. French intervention sought by Mexican monarchists.

3

Causes of the intervention

Success of Liberals under Juárez; demand of Conservatives for a foreign prince; unpaid claims, crooked finance; the foreign debt; Juárez suspended interest payments; desire of Europe to checkmate United States; fear of democracy; attitude of Europe encouraged by our absorption in Civil War. The Convention of London, October 31, 1861. Difficult position of United States.

4

The French intervention

Joint expedition of France, Spain, and England; Napoleon III's covert design to seat Maximilian on a Mexican throne; injustice of Jecker finance, and Napoleon's aid to him. England and Spain withdrawn from the combination; sole occupation by France; siege of Puebla; entry into Mexico City.

5

Attitude of the United States

Our claims; border difficulties; Buchanan's policy; McLane-Ocampo Treaty; Lincoln's proposal to assume Mexico's debt; rejection of both plans; motives of United States.

6

Maximilian's empire

Farcical election; coronation; Convention of Miramar; the financial cost to Mexico; arrival in Mexico. Maximilian, a Liberal, on a Conservative throne. His quarrel with the Church over lands, etc. Failure to propitiate Liberals while alienating Conservatives. His famous order to execute patriots taken under arms; effect in United States. His empire's widest extent.

7

Attitude of United States after Civil War

Popularity of proposed interventions; official attitude; Seward's hostility to France; secret aid to Juárez; Lew Wallace's raid; Maximilian's vacillation as regards abdication; distress of Carlota; Liberal victories in the north of Mexico; patriot movement southward; precarious condition

of the Empire; removal of French guarantees; withdrawal of troops. The Empire cornered at Querétaro; siege by Liberals; betrayal of Maximilian; effort among civilized nations to save his life; Juárez implacable, having purpose to demonstrate the futility of foreign interventions and of the futility of the clerical ideal of a foreign royal house in Mexico.

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SECTION V

THE PRESIDENCY OF PORFIRIO DÍAZ, 1876–1910

1

Preliminaries

Juárez entered Mexico July 15, 1867; reconstruction; Juárez elected president, term ending November 30, 1871; recognizes debt to United States; resumes foreign relations. Disorders during his last term; insecurity of life and property; re-elected in 1871; his sudden death. Revolution under Díaz, hero of Puebla; *Plan de la Noria;* Lerdo de Tejada president from 1872 to 1875; he antagonizes Díaz; attempts enforcement of Laws of Reform amid revolts in many states; his alleged illegal re-election in 1875 as cause of Díaz' revolt of January, 1876. The *Plan de Tuxtepec*, a general condemnation of Lerdo in terms applicable to the later period of Díaz himself. Lerdo and Iglesias, rival contestants for the presidency, driven to United States; Díaz in power.

2

Early program of Díaz

Reorganization of government; constitutional amendments; Díaz' balance of clique against clique; revolt along the border delays American recognition; it is obtained in 1877; the Mixed Claims Commission to settle damages; the "iron hand" illustrated by the course pursued in the mutiny of Tlacotalpan: "Mátelos en caliente." Internal improvements; schools, scientific establishments, railroad grants, finance. The presidency of González, 1880-84; its purpose, its venality; the unpopular Stamp Law; the English debt; arrangements for the succession.

3

The Díaz epoch

His re-elections in 1888, 1892, 1896, 1900, 1904, 1910. "Nearly unanimous elections" in Mexico; utility of the dictatorship because of the scant political education or social fitness of the majority of the people, to govern themselves. Futility of the dictatorship, always ending in violent transmission of the power. Epochal accomplishments of Díaz during the "Golden Age" of

Mexico. They were in: financial reforms, development of industry and agriculture, the railroad revolution, prison reforms, military reforms, drainage of the Valley of Mexico, the educational system, adoption of the gold standard. In the late period came the nationalization of the railroads, and the development of petroleum fields.

4

Apogee of the Porfirian dictatorship

Age and infirmity brought loss of touch with affairs; ascendency of Limantour; the Centenary of Independence; influence of the Científicos; their beginning as the "Club de los Mayates"; influence of his wife, Doña Carmen in favor of the Church and the conservative element; favoritism; distribution of the land. "We have more nuts to crack than teeth to crack them with". Alienation of the Indian lands. Plans for the succession; proposals to send Díaz to Europe; failure of booms for Bernardo Reyes, and Limantour; Corral as vice-president and possible successor; his unpopularity. The character of the government built up by Díaz: Congress a subservient body, members chosen at behest of Díaz, both houses serving in relation of personal adherents; Supreme Court without power to establish a jurisprudence; its subserviency and venality; abuse of the writ of *ampar*. The Cabinet full of subservient men; contained a few good administrators like Limantour, etc. Díaz followed the suggestions of the White House. Governors of states, and *jefes políticos* of districts completed the organized corruption of the government, as it existed in the latter years.

5

Discontent the fruit of excessive privilege

The Creelman interview of 1908; it misinformed the American and Mexican people alike; false hopes of being allowed to try politics in Mexico; the writings of the radicals. Campaign of Francisco Madero and his attacks on the continuance of the dictatorship by another re-election in 1910. Tardy efforts of Díaz followers to allay the storm by concessions in policy.

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SECTION VI

THE REVOLUTION UNDER MADERO, 1910–13

1

The Madero family

Evaristo Madero, ex-governor of Coahuila; his origin, business interests, his faith in private initiative for material development; his sons, Gustavo, Ernesto, and Francisco. The traditional relationship of northern Mexico to the remainder of the Republic, as shown by this family.

2

Francisco Madero the man

Personal characteristics, mysticism, magnetism, enthusiasm; education at the University of California; business affiliations. His opposition to the

continued re-election of Díaz. "The presidential succession of 1910", the brand that set the Revolution ablaze. His candidacy for the presidency considered a mere idealistic dream; his propaganda; Serdán's premature revolt at Puebla. Arrest of Madero when it was seen that his campaign was growing too powerful. Parole; escape to the United States. Perfect plans for armed revolt; contact with radicals.

3

The Plan de San Luis de Potosí

Prologue; it shows the author's egotism; his assumption of authority under the Plan. Program for effective suffrage, no re-election, distribution of the land. Accession of northern radicals to his cause; the rebellion under Orozco against the Terrazas dominion over Chihuahua. Forced resignation of Díaz when the revolution grew strong; futile attempts at compromise.

4

Provisional presidency of Francisco de la Barra

His natural sympathy with the old group; his difficult position with Madero in actual but not official power; the forces of the revolution near the capital; futile attempt to work a coalition government in Mexico. Waning of the popularity of Madero after the revolution seemed to have won, caused by dissensions among the winners, and by the discord sown by his enemies; the elimination of Vázquez Gómez from candidacy for the vice-presidency; choice of Pino Suárez; its disastrous effect upon the supporters of Madero.

5

Madero as dictator

His election had been the most popular demonstration ever seen in Mexico; he wrecked his chances of success by attempting compromises with the conservatives; foolish finance depleted the treasury Díaz left; cabinet inharmonious; promise of subdivision of the land only partially carried out; it became spoliation of enemies rather than help to the discontented proletariat. The revolt of Felix Díaz as a reactionary move; its failure; nullity of the character of Felix Díaz. His imprisonment and his rescue from the Ciudadela in Mexico City.

6

The tragic ten days, February 9–18, 1913

The treachery of General Victoriano Huerta; his belief that he was the "man of iron" Mexico needed; his unhappy personal character, puffed by the victories he had won for Madero and the adulation of persons interested in reaction. The attempt to rescue Felix Díaz, and the revolt of his associates. Death of Bernardo Reyes; its political significance; confinement of Madero and Pino Suárez; their resignations, under guarantees, which are broken immediately; removal from the National Palace; application of the "ley fuga." Alleged foreknowledge of this tragedy by the American ambassador. The advance of Huerta to the presidency. Attitude of representatives of foreign powers, following the lead of the American ambassador.

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SECTION VII

HUERTA AND THE UNITED STATES, FEBRUARY 19, 1913–JULY 15, 1914

1

The presidency of Huerta

His seizure of power ratified by a terrified Congress; G. Madero murdered February 19, 1913; F. I. Madero and Pino Suárez suffer under the "ley fuga", February 22. Huerta denied complicity. The revolutionary leaders Orozco and Vázquez Gómez submit, on invitation from Huerta, but Venustiano Carranza in Coahuila raised revolt, though he is alleged to have been about to break with Madero. The Constitutionalist movement; many revolutionists executed by Huerta leaders; cruelty of the war. Serious disorders throughout the country. Huerta failed to win recognition from the United States or the A B C Powers; other nations, which had supported him, withdrew approval. Mexican Congress, containing many Constitutionalist sympathizers, antagonized Huerta's financial program; critics attacked his seizure of power; murder of Senator Domínguez; arrest of 110 deputies, October 10. Huerta declared himself temporary dictator October 11. Executive absorption of legislative and judicial functions, a negation of republican government. Farcical election October 26, rejected by Mexican Congress, but Huerta asked to continue until real election could be held. Huerta was unable to quell insurrection in north, or protect foreign lives. Expulsion of Spaniards by Villa. The Tampico incident of the Dolphin's boat; demand for reparation by Wilson led to refusal of full compliance by Huerta. Incident of the Ypiranga and seizure of Vera Cruz; advance of Constitutionalists; quarrel between Carranza and Villa over attitude toward Americans. Surrender of Vera Cruz to Carranza. His occupation of Mexico City September 4, Huerta having resigned and left Mexico July 15. Alternation of power among the revolutionary bands of Mexico. Precarious condition of foreigners; bad state of country.

2

Attitude of United States

President Wilson's declaration, March 11, 1913, of friendly attitude toward Spanish America; end of "Dollar Diplomacy." Attitude of H. L. Wilson toward the Huerta coup. Increase of American troops at the border.

Aid to rebels caused Huerta to complain. Announcement by President Wilson that Huerta would never be recognized; nor would any government established by intrigue and assassination. A new feature in recognition as practised by United States; an inquiry into constitutional status of foreign power. It led to other acts of similar intervention. Huerta refused to permit interference; the duel for recognition. Lind, Wilson's personal representative, went to Mexico in August, to eliminate Huerta as candidate for election. Erroneous basis of his plea; its failure. Terms of Wilson's demands show essential rightness of American attitude, but departure from policy of previous years, of dubious value. Necessary intervention to provide aid to Huerta's enemies. United States advised citizens again to withdraw from Mexico, and announced policy of "watchful waiting", intended to eliminate Huerta. Financial boycott and aid to Carranza as weapons against him. Bryan demands punishment of crimes against Americans. Murder of Benton, Englishman, in Villa territory. Wilson's policy criticised in United States Senate; intervention urged. Relations broken on seizure of Vera Cruz. Intervention of A B C Powers; and of other American states; lead of United States followed. Conference at Niagara Falls; its elimination of Huerta. His attempts within United States to foment armed movements in Mexico. His arrest, his release, and subsequent death in Texas in 1916.

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SECTION VIII

THE GOVERNMENT OF CARRANZA, JULY 15, 1914—MAY 5, 1920

1

Recognition of Carranza

Political and military campaigns of the "First Chief." Recognition as *de facto* president, after parleys by Wilson's agents with Villa. Disastrous result of this on spirit of Villa. Santa Isabel massacre; Columbus raid; Pershing expedition; its futility. Defeat of Villa. Election of Carranza; his recognition as *de jure* president. Radical element in Carranza party; the policy of economic independence for Mexico. Anti-clericalism; anti-foreign sentiment; opposition to great land-holdings. Danger to foreigners; their frequent murder. Americans numerous among casualties.

2

Influence of the new army

Tradition of the old army; its disorganization under Madero; Carranza's new organization; causes for its creation; his dependence upon it; his avowed civilianism. Jealousies of the generals. Their outrages upon Mexicans and foreigners. Their espousal of the German cause in the World

War. Desultory campaigns against bandits, in the north against Villa, in the south against Zapata, etc. Army preys upon agriculture and commerce. Its control of the railways. Venality of the army, of the railway and other civil administrative offices.

3

The Constitution of 1917

Socialistic influence in the Querétaro Convention. Anti-foreign legislation, articles 27 and 33. American influence at the Convention. Expansion of idea of eminent domain in control of natural resources; application to land problem and petroleum operations. The revolution as a rise of the proletariat; leading part by those who had profited by industrialization under American infiltration. American socialist agitators. The Constitution as viewed by American jurisconsults; by the American Government.

4

The internal policy of Carranza

A dictatorship; opposed by business interests, domestic and foreign. Rule by decrees; "Pre-constitutional period". Futility of Congress; its opposition to Carranza. Control of state governments. Interference with state elections. Failure of the "free municipality" of the revolution, as instanced in Mexico City. Neglect of popular education; its relegation to the care of the states. Problems of finance; depletion of the banks; their "contributions" to the revolution; paper money; depreciation; ruin of credit; adoption of gold currency only; proposals for banking rehabilitation, still pending at close of 1920. The railway policy. Failure to secure loans; depletion of railway rolling stock; peculation of high officers in its administration. Hunger in Mexico; attitude toward Red Cross help; toward surveys of conditions.

5

Foreign policy of Carranza

Intransigeant attitude toward the United States; view of Mexico as guardian of Hispano-American frontier; influence of Luis Cabrera, Aguirre Berlanga, Aguilar, and the cabinet as a whole. Plea for embargo on supplies to Europe. Zimmerman note. Attitude toward protection of American lives. Attitude toward protests in petroleum controversy. Correspondence on Pershing expedition. Attempt to align South America with Mexico. The United States Senate investigation of Mexico. United States press on Mexico during 1919–May 1920. Attitude since that time. Causes.

6

The presidential succession in 1920

Carranza's repeated announcements that he would not succeed himself; candidacies of Obregón, González, Bonillas. Alleged attempts to control election, elimination of military candidates. Jealousies of the latter. Obregón, military hero of Celaya and León, wins business backing, foreign and native. Attempt of Carranza to control Sonora state; revolt; success

of movement, due to economic superiority. Epic flight of Carranza; his *sang froid*. His needless death. His worthy traits. De la Huerta as Provisional President. Change of attitude of radicals after assumption of power. Election of Obregón. Recognition of Mexico.

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SECTION IX

THE PETROLEUM CONTROVERSY

I

Development of oil in Mexico

Projects for oil development under Maximilian; small development; concessions lapsed; *chapopote* of Aztecs long known to Spaniards; asphalt;

first commercial development of consequence by Americans, Doheny and Canfield. Output in 1901, 10,345 barrels; in 1917, 55,292,770 barrels; later increase, and possible production, 250 million barrels or more; limited by shipping. Chief operations in Tampico and Tuxpan regions; Americans bought land there at 60 cents per acre and up, then thought too high. Concessions included free importation of machinery and exemption from taxes for a term of years. The Mexican Petroleum Co. Advent of the British, Dutch, Waters-Pierce, Standard Oil, and Southern Pacific developments. Investments, 300 millions, 200 million being American. Revenue to Mexican Government, around $10,000,000 per annum; more than from mining.

2

Mexican reaction to foreign exploitation

Pique at foreign success, due to non-participation, and to inertia. The revolution a manifestation of dislike for foreigners. Efforts by Constitutionalists to recover control of natural resources. Adoption of the Constitution of 1917. Anti-foreign enactments of articles 27, 33; the relationship of articles 14, 49, to petroleum. Theory of eminent domain, and prescriptive right of nation in soil and subsoil, as accorded under the old Spanish legislation. Old Constitution, of 1857, gave control of national lands to States; taken over by nation, 1883. Code of 1884 gave oil to owner of surface; this principle reaffirmed in 1892, making payment of taxes the basis of tenure of right in mining property, instead of actual workings. Mining code, 1909, adheres to same principle. Constitution of 1917 makes petroleum inalienable by nation; foreigners must agree to work as Mexican corporations, and forego appeal to their own governments through diplomatic channels. They may not hold land not operated. Carranza decrees, February 19, 1918, but 5 per cent royalty on output, 5 pesos per hectare tax, and steeply graduated tax on rent paid under leases. Also required filing statement of holdings inside three months; lands not so registered to be open to claims by others. Holders retained prior right only three months. Companies deem this an indication of intention to confiscate their properties.

3

Relations with the United States

Protest, April 2, 1918, against confiscation, joined in by England, France, Holland. Mexican Government extended time for filing *manifestaciones* on July 1 and 31, until August 15. Decree, August 8, demanded holders of land file claims for concessions within three months or lose claims; other details to enforce compliance. Legislation concedes to operators first right to the concessions, but does not give same right as ownership. Decree, November 23, 1918, carries out principle of government ownership; gives rights to claims filed prior to May 1, 1917. Drilling resumed January, 1920; Congress had failed to pass remedial legislation. Present attitude looking toward compromise; party of proponents of national ownership still numerous. Taxation problem, involving continually rising scale of assessment of tax, is apart from question of title under contract or national-

ization. Free period not yet expired under old contracts; taxation begun by Madero; increased by Carranza. Demand by American operators that all Carranza decrees be abolished as unconstitutional. The question vital to both United States and Mexico; involves conflict of laws and as such is a matter for arbitration by jurisconsults familiar with both Roman and English law. Complicated by instability of Mexican Government, and by unfortunate controversy of the past.

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SECTION X

THE PROBLEM OF THE LAND

1

Disposal of the land during the Conquest

Lands considered as property of king; bestowed on conquerors for services; lands of Indians not respected; certain towns, and property of certain Indian lords, respected; confusion in status of property because of lack of system; indifference of Spanish settlers to Spanish laws protecting Indian rights. Establishment of *encomiendas*, erection of towns, grants of farms a league square, and large semi-feudal grants to great conquerors. Encroachment of the Church, by means of extended grants, by pious gifts, and by mortgages. By the time of independence the Church possessed half the realm, if not more.

2

Status of the land at independence

Property not clearly defined in the first constitution; assumption of control over public lands by the states. Resumption of control by the national government. Attempts at colonization; grants to soldiers as pay for services. Continued existence of Church property and of large lay estates, together with Indian communal villages, the latter usually controlling a league square or over.

3

The Laws of the Reform

After the growth of a group of native Liberals in politics, attempt was made to remove the Church from domination over property and civil rights,

by legislation known as the Laws of the Reform. Influence of Benito Juárez in this program; his associates. Laws provided for nationalization of the estates of the Church. In fact, the legislation failed, as it turned large estates over to laymen, instead of breaking estates up; also injured Indians by putting their communal holdings on sale; they sold property for a song. Efforts to establish small farming; successful only in areas of easy irrigation; dry-farming precarious in Mexico. Need for irrigation. The Laws of the Reform under the presidency of Lerdo de Tejada, 1874–5–6.

4

Land grants under Díaz

Díaz made huge grants, for development; iniquity of the system of the Compañías Deslindadoras, which received ⅓ of wild lands discovered, for making surveys; dishonesty, and uncertainty. Compare our own magnificence in early western land grants; spurious colonization; effort to settle the country failure because of lack of sincere intention of colonizing companies, or because of disturbed conditions. Indian properties violated to fulfill contracts with foreign or favorite grantees. Fault of the system in its abuse, opportunity for dishonesty; ideal was good; impracticability of the process.

5

The revolutionary theory

The revolution initiated, like most of them, in Mexico, for reasons connected with land. Masses discontented at bestowals on aliens and favorites; promises of distribution made; influence of anti-foreign propaganda. Confiscation of many estates; it followed political lines. Confiscations often followed by cessation of production. Slight advance made in subdivision of property, or in return of common lands to Indian towns. Late acts of Carranza brought about restorations of some large estates, as the Terrazas estates in Chihuahua; present government following same policy. The attitude of small holders, in Morelos; destruction of large properties there. The futility of the communal idea for advancement. Tenacity of Indians for their soil. Need of respect for unwritten aboriginal titles. Need of intensification of agriculture in Mexico.

6

Correlative problems

First need, suitable irrigation; this a great expense in Mexico, need of large investment in it. Hence, need of suitable fiscal system, land credits. Rapid repayment of investments when crops succeed. Other problems: agricultural education, civic education; need for raising standard of living. Need of perfection of ways of communication, for marketing. Titulation in bad state, due to frequent changes in laws.

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[Note. There is no satisfactory statement of the land problem in Mexico in English. The most available book, Bulnes' "The Whole Truth," is an extreme statement of the conservative position; it is answered by González Roa. Both should be read with reservations.]

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